Numb. 44.

The EXAMINER.

From Thursday *May* 24, to Thursday *May* 31, 1711.

Scilicet, ut posses curvo dignoscere rectum.

HAving been forc'd in my Papers to use the Cant-words of *Whig* and *Tory*, which have so often vary'd their Significations, for twenty Years past; I think it necessary to say something of the several Changes those two Terms have undergone since that Period; and then to tell the Reader what I have always understood by each of them, since I undertook this Work. I reckon that these sorts of conceited Appellations, are usually invented by the Vulgar; who not troubling themselves to examine through the Merits of a Cause, are consequently the most violent Partisans of what they espouse; and in their Quarrels, usually proceed to their beloved Argument of *calling Names*, till at length they light upon one which is sure to stick; and in time, each Party grows proud of that Appellation, which their Adversaries at first intended for a Reproach. Of this kind were the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, *Huguenots* and *Papists*, *Round-heads* and *Cavaliers*, with many others, of ancient and modern Date. Among us of late there seems to have been a Barrenness of Invention in this Point; the Words *Whig* and *Tory*, though they are not much above thirty Years Old, having been pres'd to the Service of many Successions of Parties, with very different Idea's fastened to them. This Distinction, I think, began towards the latter part of King *Charles* the Second's Reign; was dropt during that of his Successor, and then revived at the *Revolution*; since which it has perpetually flourish'd, though apply'd to very different kinds of Principles and Persons. In that Convention of Lords and Commons, some of both Houses were for a *Regency* to the Prince of *Orange*, with a Reservation of Style and Title to the absent King, which should be made use of in all Publick Acts. Others, when they were brought to allow the Throne vacant, thought the Succession should immediately go to the next Heir, according to the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, as if the last King were actually dead. And tho' the Dissenting Lords (in whose House the chief Opposition was) did at last yield both those Points, took the Oaths to the new King, and many of them Employments, yet they were look'd upon with an evil Eye by the warm Zealots of the other side; neither did the Court ever heartily favour any of them, though some were of the most eminent for Abilities and Virtue, and serv'd that Prince, both in his Councils and his Army, with untainted Faith. It was apprehended, at the same time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the Clergy would have been better pleas'd with that Scheme of a *Regency*, or at least an uninterrupted lineal Succession, for the sake of those whose Consciences were truly *Scrupulous*; and they thought there were some Circumstances, in the Case of the depriv'd Bishops, that look'd a little hard, or at least deserv'd Commiseration.

These, and other the like Reflections did, as I conceive, revive the Denominations of *Whig* and *Tory*.

Some time after the Revolution the Distinction of *High* and *Low*-Church came in, which was rais'd by the Dissenters, in order to break the Church Party, by dividing the Members into *High* and *Low*; and the Opinion rais'd, That the *High* join'd with the Papists, inclin'd the *Low* to fall in with the Dissenters.

And here I shall take leave to produce some Principles, which in the several Periods of the late Reign, serv'd to denote a Man of one or t'other Party. To be against a Standing Army in Time of Peace, was all *High-Church*, *Tory* and *Tantivy*. To differ from a Majority of B——ps was the same. To raise the Prerogative above Law for serving a Turn, was *Low-Church* and *Whig*. The Opinion of the Majority in the House of Commons, especially of the Country-Party, or Landed Interest, was *High-flying* and *rank Tory*. To exalt the King's Supremacy beyond all Precedent, was *Low-Church*, *Whiggish* and *Moderate*. To make the least Doubt of the pretended Prince being Suppositious, and a Tyler's Son, was, in their Phrase, *Top and Top-gallant*, and perfect *Jacobitism*. To resume the most exorbitant Grants, that were ever given to a Set of profligate Favourites, and apply them to the Publick, was the very Quintessence of *Toryism*; notwithstanding those Grants were known to be acquir'd, by Sacrificing the Honour and the Wealth of *England*.

In most of these Principles, the two Parties seem to have shifted Opinions, since their Institution under King *Charles* the Second, and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the Time of the *Revolution*. But as to that concerning the *Pretender*, the *Whigs* have so far renounc'd it, that they are grown the great Advocates for his Legitimacy: Which gives me the Opportunity of Vindicating a Noble D— who was accus'd of a Blunder in the House, when upon a certain Lord's mentioning the *Pretended Prince*, his G—— told the Lords, He *must be plain with them, and call that Person, not the Pretended Prince, but the Pretended Impostor:* Which was so far from a Blunder in that Polite L——d, as his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refin'd way of delivering the avow'd Sentiments of his whole Party.

But to return, This was the State of Principles when the Qu—— came to the Crown; sometime after which, it pleas'd *certain great Persons*, who had been all their Lives in the Altitude of *Tory*-Profession, to enter into a Treaty with the *Whigs*, from whom they could get better Terms than from their old Friends, who began to be restly, and would not allow Monopolies of Power and Favour; nor consent to carry on the War intirely at the Expence of this Nation, that they might have Pensions from Abroad; while another People, more immediately concern'd in the War, Traded with the Enemy as in times of Peace. Whereas, the other Party, whose Case appear'd then as desperate, was ready to yield to any Conditions that would bring them into Play. And I cannot help affirming, That this Nation was made a Sacrifice to the unmeasurable Appetite of Power and Wealth in a *very few*, that shall be Nameless, who in every Step they made, acted directly against what they had always profess'd. And if His Royal Highness the Prince had died some Years sooner (who was a perpetual Check in their Career) 'tis dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that Time, the bulk of the *Whigs* appears rather to be link'd to a certain Set of *Persons*, than any certain Set of *Principles*: So that if I were to define a Member of that Party, I would say, he was one *who Believed in the late M——ry*. And therefore, whatever I have affirm'd of *Whigs* in any of these Papers, or objected against them, ought to be understood either of those who were Partisans of the late Men in Power, and privy to their Designs; or such who join'd with them from a Hatred to our Monarchy and Church, as Unbelievers and *Dissenters* of all Sizes: Or Men in Office, who had been guilty of much Corruption, and dreaded a Change; which would not only put a stop to further Abuses for the future, but might, perhaps, introduce Examinations of what was past. Or those who had been too highly oblig'd, to quit their Supporters with any common Decency. Or lastly, the *Money-Traders*, who could never hope to make their Markets so well of *Premiums* and Exorbitant Interest, and high Remittances, under any other Administration.

Under these Heads, may be reduc'd the whole Body of those whom I have all along understood for *Whigs*: For

I do not include within this Number, any of those who have been misled by Ignorance, or seduc'd by plausible Pretences, to think better of that sort of Men than they deserve, and to apprehend mighty Danger from their Disgrace: Because, I believe, the greatest Part of such well-meaning People, are now thorowly converted.

And indeed, it must be allow'd, that those two fantastick Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, have at present very little Relation to those Opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly profess'd himself to approve the *Revolution*, to be against the *Pretender*, to justify the Succession in the House of *Hannover*, to think the *British* Monarchy not absolute, but limited by Laws, which the Executive Power could not dispense with, and to allow an Indulgence to Scrupulous Consciences; such a Man was content to be call'd a *Whig*. On t'other side, whoever asserted the Queen's Hereditary Right; that the Persons of Princes were Sacred; their lawful Authority not to be resisted on any Pretence; nor even their Usurpations, without the most extream Necessity: That Breaches in the Succession were highly dangerous; that *Schism* was a great Evil, both in it self and its Consequences; that the Ruin of the *Church*, would probably be attended with that of the *State*; that no Power should be trusted with those who are not of the Establish'd Religion; such a Man was usually call'd a *Tory*. Now, tho' the Opinions of both these are very consistent, and I really think are maintain'd at present by a great Majority of the Kingdom; yet, according as Men apprehend the Danger greater, either from the *Pretender* and his Party, or from the Violence and Cunning of *other Enemies* to the Constitution; so their common Discourses and Reasonings, turn either to the first or second Set of these Opinions I have mention'd, and are consequently styl'd either *Whigs* or *Tories*. Which is, as if two *Brothers* apprehended their House would be set upon, but disagreed about the Place from whence they thought the *Robbers* would come, and therefore would go on different sides to defend it. They must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a *Separation*; and so did we, only our Case was worse: For in order to keep off a *weak*, *remote Enemy*, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any Danger, we took a *nearer* and a *stronger* one into the *House*. I make no Comparison at all between the two Enemies: *Popery* and *Slavery* are without doubt the greatest and most dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the Fear of these, have not, at least since the *Revolution*, been so close and pressing upon us, as that from *another Faction*; excepting only one short Period, when the Leaders of that very Faction, invited the abdicating King to return; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared what sort of Persons I have always meant, under the Denomination of *Whigs*, it will be easy to shew whom I understand by *Tories*. Such whose Principles in Church and State, are what I have above related; whose Actions are derived from thence, and who have no Attachment to any Set of *Ministers*, further than as these are Friends to the Constitution in all its Parts, but will do their utmost to save their Prince and Country, *whoever* be at the Helm.

By these Descriptions of *Whig* and *Tory*, I am sensible those Names are given to several Persons very undeservedly; and that many a Man is call'd by one or t'other, who has not the least Title to the Blame or Praise I have bestow'd on each of them throughout my Papers.

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